

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY LUSAKA NIACIT IMMEDIATE

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FOLLOWING REPEAT USUN NEW YORK 01092 SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO
BONN, CAPE TOWN, DAR ES SALAAM, LONDON, OTTAWA, PARIS, PRETORIA
25 MAR 78

QUOTE CONFIDENTIAL USUN NEW YORK 01092

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, SF, WA

SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: REVISED DRAFT WESTERN FIVE MESSAGE TO
SWAPO

1. CONTACT GROUP MET PM 24 MARCH AND AGREED UPON THE DRAFT
WESTERN FIVE MESSAGE TO SWAPO. CAPE TOWN PLEASE PASS TO
CANADIAN EMBASSY. ALL POSTS PLEASE PASS TO FRG EMBASSIES.
BONN PLEASE PASS TO FONOFF.

2. TEXT AS FOLLOWS:

- "ON FEBRUARY 11-12, THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF OUR
FIVE GOVERNMENTS MET WITH A SWAPO DELEGATION, LED BY
PRESIDENT SAM NUJOMA, TO DISCUSS OUR PROPOSAL FOR THE
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TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE OF NAMIBIA. AT THOSE MEETINGS,
AND IN SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSIONS SINCE THEN, BOTH SWAPO AND
SOUTH AFRICA RAISED A NUMBER OF POINTS REGARDING OUR
PROPOSAL. SOME WERE MATTERS OF DRAFTING OTHERS WERE MORE
SUBSTANTIVE; OUR FIVE GOVERNMENTS HAVE CAREFULLY CON-
SIDERED EVERY POINT THAT WAS RAISED AND HAVE MADE SOME
CLARIFICATIONS IN THE TEXT. THE MAIN BODY OF THE TEXT,

HOWEVER, REMAINS UNALTERED. WE HAVE NOW INSTRUCTED OUR REPRESENTATIVES TO PROVIDE YOU, SOUTH AFRICA AND OTHER INTERESTED PARTIES WITH OUR PROPOSAL FOR AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA LEADING TO EARLY MAJORITY RULE AND INDEPENDENCE FOR THE TERRITORY. IT HAS THE UNRESERVED BACKING OF OUR FIVE GOVERNMENTS. WE HOPE THAT SWAPO WILL ACCEPT THE PROPOSAL, WHICH THE FIVE INTEND TO PRESENT TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

- "WE BELIEVE THAT WE HAVE DEVISED A SOLUTION WHICH IS FAIR AND JUST, WHICH RESTS FIRMLY UPON THE FRAMEWORK PROVIDED BY RESOLUTION 385, AND MEETS THE LEGITIMATE CONCERN OF ALL. CONSISTENT WITH THIS APPROACH, OUR FIVE GOVERNMENTS DID NOT SEEK THE SIMPLE TRANSFER OF POWER TO REPRESENTATIVE OF ANY PARTICULAR NAMIBIAN GROUP. AS A PRACTICAL MATTER IT WAS ALSO UNREALISTIC TO EXPECT A SIMPLE SA SURRENDER. INEVITABLY ANY AGREEMENT BASED ON NEGOTIATIONS WILL NOT FULLY SATISFY ALL.

- "WE BEGAN WITH THE PREMISE THAT SOUTH AFRICA'S PRESENCE IN NAMIBIA IS ILLEGAL AND SHOULD BE ENDED. WE HAVE ACHIEVED A SUBSTANTIAL DEGREE OF AGREEMENT AMONG THE PARTIES ON A PROCESS WHICH WOULD TERMINATE THAT PRESENCE. IT INCLUDES AS A KEY ELEMENT A VERY SUBSTANTIAL UN INVOLVEMENT DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD. THE UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WILL HAVE A DECISIVE ROLE

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THROUGHOUT POLITICAL PROCESS AND HIS CIVILIAN AND MILITARY STAFF WILL BE CONSIDERABLE IN SIZE. ALL LEVELS OF THE ADMINISTRATION, THE POLICE AND THE SMALL RESIDUAL SOUTH AFRICAN FORCE WILL COME UNDER THE CLOSE SUPERVISION OF THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE'S STAFF. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, IT IS INCONCEIVABLE THAT THE SOUTH AFRICANS OR INDEED ANY PARTY COULD DELIBERATELY VIOLATE THE AGREEMENT WITHOUT BRINGING DOWN UPON THEMSELVES THE CONDEMNATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

- "DURING THE FEBRUARY NEGOTIATIONS IN NEW YORK, SWAPO, ACCEPTED THE RETENTION OF A RESIDUAL SOUTH AFRICAN FORCE OF 1500 IN NAMIBIA UNTIL AFTER CERTIFICATION OF THE ELECTIONS. WE HAVE PROPOSED THAT THIS FORCE BE RESTRICTED UNDER CLOSE UN MONITORING TO BASES AT OSHIVELLA AND/OR GROOTFONTEIN. WE CANNOT ACCEPT THE SOUTH AFRICAN PROPOSAL THAT PLATOON SIZE UNITS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN DEFENSE FORCES ALSO BE POSITIONED IN EIGHT LOCATIONS NEAR THE BORDER WITH ANGOLA AS THIS MIGHT ADVERSELY AFFECT THE CONDUCT OF FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS. NEITHER CAN WE ACCEPT THE SWAPO PROPOSAL THAT THE RESIDUAL FORCE SHOULD BE RESTRICTED TO BASE AT KARASBURG IN THE SOUTH. WE

FOUND THIS TO BE POLITICALLY UNACCEPTABLE FOR IT WOULD BE TANTAMOUNT TO DEMANDING SOUTH AFRICA'S COMPLETE WITHDRAWAL. IT WOULD MOREOVER BE UNNECESSARY AS, GIVEN THE MONITORING ARRANGEMENTS WHICH WE PROPOSE, WE DO NOT SEE HOW SUCH A SMALL FORCE CAN POSSIBLY REPRESENT A THREAT TO THE FREEDOM OF THE ELECTORAL PROCESS. WE ALSO DRAW YOUR ATTENTION TO THAT SECTION OF OUR PROPOSAL WHICH DEALS WITH THE POLICE. THERE WE HAVE ADDRESSED SWAPO'S LEGITIMATE CONCERNs ABOUT THEIR CONDUCT AND ABOUT THE NEED TO MONITOR THEIR ACTIVITIES CAREFULLY.

- "WITH REGARD TO THE SIZE OF THE UN MILITARY CONTINGENT, WE REMAIN FIRMLY OF THE VIEW THAT WE SHOULD NOT ATTEMPT TO IMPOSE AN ARBITRARY FIGURE, BUT SHOULD

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LEAVE THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO DETERMINE WHAT IS NECESSARY IN THE LIGHT OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE TASK. WE HAVE, HOWEVER, MADE IT CLEAR THAT OUR FIVE GOVERNMENTS WILL SUPPORT HIS JUDGMENT AND WE SHALL HONOR THIS COMMITMENT.

- "AS BOTH SWAPO AND SOUTH AFRICA OBJECTED TO THE FORMULA WHICH WE DEVISED FOR THE DIFFICULT QUESTION OF WALVIS BAY, WE HAVE OMITTED THIS ELEMENT FROM THE PROPOSAL. WE SEE NO WAY OF SETTLING THE QUESTION IN THE CONTEXT OF THE PRESENT NEGOTIATIONS BUT WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT DISAGREEMENTS REGARDING THE STATUS OF WALVIS BAY SHOULD BE PERMITTED TO IMPEDE AN EARLY AND OTHERWISE ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT. WE HAVE TOLD THE SOUTH AFRICANS THAT ALL ASPECTS OF THE QUESTION OF WALVIS BAY SHOULD BE SUBJECT TO DISCUSSION BETWEEN THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AND THE ELECTED GOVERNMENT OF NAMIBIA. OUR REPRESENTATIVES IN NEW YORK WILL BE INSTRUCTED TO MAKE THIS CLEAR IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL. WE HAVE OBTAINED ASSURANCES THAT THE STRENGTH OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN FORCE IN WALVIS BAY WILL NOT BE INCREASED DURING THIS TRANSITIONAL PERIOD AND THE NAMIBIANS IN WALVIS BAY WILL BE ABLE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE POLITICAL LIFE OF THE TERRITORY DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD, INCLUDING VOTING IN ELECTIONS.

- "OTHER ASPECTS OF OUR PROPOSAL HAVE CAUSED DIFFICULTY FOR ONE OR ANOTHER PARTY. IN OUR VIEW, HOWEVER, THEY ARE RELATIVELY MINOR MATTERS WHICH SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO OBSTRUCT OUR GOAL OF AN EARLY OVERALL SETTLEMENT. WE HAVE GIVEN FULL AND CAREFUL CONSIDERATION TO EACH OF THESE MATTERS AND OUR FIVE GOVERNMENTS FIRMLY SUPPORT OUR CLARIFIED PROPOSAL AS A BASIS FOR A

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SETTLEMENT. WE HOPE THAT SWAPO WILL MAKE A THOROUGH AND RAPID STUDY OF OUR PROPOSAL. WE RECOGNIZE THAT INEVITABLY THERE ARE MATTERS WHICH WILL CAUSE YOU DIFFICULTIES. WE HOPE, HOWEVER, THAT YOU WILL CONSIDER OUR PROPOSAL AS A WHOLE VERY SERIOUSLY INDEED AND NOT REJECT IT OUT OF HAND. IT IS NOW A QUESTION OF POLITICAL WILL ON ALL SIDES. WE INTEND TO LAY OUR PROPOSAL BEFORE THE SECURITY COUNCIL IN THE NEAR FUTURE, AND WE HOPE THAT THE COUNCIL WILL ACT UPON IT. WE BELIEVE THAT THERE IS A GOOD PROSPECT OF INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR OUR PROPOSAL. THIS IN ITSELF WOULD BE AN IMPORTANT BREAKTHROUGH." LEONARD

UNQUOTE COOPER

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NNN

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